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# ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1843.

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## THE FIRST GENERAL PEACE CONVENTION.

CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ADVOCATE.

### REPORT OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION.

The Convention began its sessions at Freemason's Hall, Great Queen Street, on the twenty-third day of June, and closed on the twenty-sixth, with a public meeting at Exeter Hall in the Strand. The American Peace Society, at its last anniversary in May, requested its delegates "to make on their return a report to this Society in such way as the Executive Committee may think best;" and, in conformity with that request, I herewith submit, on behalf of the American Delegation, a brief account of the Convention in the order, not so much of its business, as of the subjects on which it acted. I suppose our friends, if informed of the results, will excuse us from minute details of the process by which those results were reached; and, if they desire more, they can find a sketch somewhat complete of the daily proceedings in an extra *Herald of Peace* for August, and all the discussions, resolves and various documents in a volume expected at our office from London in a few days.

GEO. C. BECKWITH.

*Boston, Sept. 1, 1843.*

### ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE CONVENTION.

On this subject the Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON, Secretary of the London Peace Society, read the following statement immediately after the opening of the Convention:

The proposal to hold a peace convention appears to have been first publicly expressed in a meeting held at Boston, in the United States, on the 26th of July, 1841. At this meeting, there were present many of the most active members of the American Peace Society, when a suggestion that a conference of the friends of peace should be held in London, to consult on the measures which are best adapted to promote universal peace amongst the nations of the earth, was unanimously approved, and a wish was expressed that the friends of the cause in other countries should correspond and consult for the promotion of such a convention. At the same meeting it was also resolved, "That the suggestion by the Honorable Judge Jay, of the insertion of a clause in all conventional treaties between

nations, mutually binding the parties to submit all international disputes to the arbitration of some one or more friendly powers, presents a definite and practicable object of effort, worthy of the serious attention of the friends of peace."

The resolutions adopted in Boston, were transmitted to England by Joseph Sturge, Esq., who was present when they were passed; and on the 15th of September, 1841, the committee of the London Peace Society was specially convened to consider them. Mr. Sturge met the committee on that occasion, and several other gentlemen were also present by invitation. The proposal was cordially responded to, and the following resolutions were adopted:—

"1. That this meeting have received with sincere gratification, the resolutions transmitted through their friend, Mr. Joseph Sturge, from a meeting held in the city of Boston, and now expresses their strong approbation of the proposal made by Judge Jay, relative to the mode of settling international disputes, as a sound practical measure, entirely harmonizing with the principles of the peace society, and the general adoption of which would be a blessing to the world.

"2. That this meeting receives, with great satisfaction, the suggestion for a general conference of the friends of peace of this and other nations, to be held at an early opportunity, for the purpose of consulting on the measures which may be best adapted to promote permanent and universal peace."

An extensive correspondence upon the subject was at once opened; and, after much preliminary discussion, it was determined to invite a number of the friends of peace to an open conference, in order to ascertain more satisfactorily their sentiments as to the desirableness of holding the proposed Convention. This conference was held in London, on the 14th of May, 1842, and was attended by above seventy persons, including several members of Parliament, several ministers of religion of different denominations, and many of the leading friends of the cause in this country. At this conference it was resolved unanimously, "That it is highly desirable for the friends of peace to hold a Convention of persons from different nations, to deliberate upon the best means, under the Divine blessing, to show the world the evil and inexpediency of the spirit and practice of war, and to promote permanent and universal peace;" and it was referred to the committee of the London Peace Society, with a number of other gentlemen who were then named, to fix the time for holding the Convention. In the following month (June, 1842), it was resolved, "That the Peace Convention should immediately succeed that of the Anti-Slavery Society, in 1843."

The immediate arrangements for carrying this resolution into effect, were painfully delayed by the sudden decease of the Rev. N. M. Harry; so that it was not until the 17th of February, in the present year, that the committee were able to place before their friends a programme of the constitution, principles, object, and business of the Convention, and to appoint a sub-committee to carry out the details of the measure. Since that period, active means have been used to secure the co-operation of the friends of peace in various parts of the world. Circulars were forthwith prepared and forwarded to all the correspondents of the London Peace Society throughout the United Kingdom, requesting their attention to the proposed order of business, and urging the appointment of delegates. Pains were taken to secure a notice of the object in the leading periodicals and newspapers, both in town and country, and with considerable success. Copies of the circular, and of Jay's treatise on "War and Peace," have also been sent to every member of the British Legislature, to the ambassadors from foreign nations, and to each of the learned judges.

The earliest opportunity was seized to communicate with the American Peace Society, whose committee at once reprinted the programme, and

prefixed to it a circular of their own, adapted to excite suitable attention amongst the numerous friends of the cause in that country; and the secular and religious newspapers were employed to diffuse the information throughout the States. Their warm interest in the object is proved by the numerous delegation which they have appointed. On the Continent, the committee entered into correspondence with individuals in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Spain; and through the medium of Mr. Rigaud with Paris, Lyons, and Strasburgh, in France; Geneva, Lausanne, Vevey, Berne, and Basle, in Switzerland; Manheim, Mayence, Frankfort, Nieuwyd, and Bonn, in Germany; with Brussels, Antwerp, and Mons, in Belgium; and with Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. To all these places Mr. Rigaud wrote, and forwarded a copy of the programme, translated into the French language. The programme was sent, also, to the principal journals on the Continent. From Paris, Brussels, and Mons, delegates have been appointed, including the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, President of the Society of Christian Morals, in Paris; and from some of the other places letters have been received. The committee addressed letters also to some of the British colonies in the West Indies, and to Toronto and Montreal, in Canada; from Toronto a reply has come to hand. Immediate steps were also taken to secure the preparation of the three general papers proposed to be submitted to the Convention; and this service has been kindly rendered by the Rev. John Burnet, H. T. J. Macnamara, Esq., and the Rev. J. Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S., &c. An effort has also been made to obtain extended and accurate information on the various statistics of war and peace. The time has not been sufficient to combine and arrange the result of these inquiries; but Mr. John Allen, of Liskeard, will place before the Convention a mass of valuable materials which he has kindly prepared for this purpose; and further assistance will be obtained from other quarters.

The PRINCIPLE upon which the Convention has been called is, "*That war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind*;" and the OBJECT at which it shall aim, as defined by the conference, May 14th, 1842, "*To deliberate upon the best means, under the Divine blessing, to show the world the evil and inexpediency of the spirit and practice of war, and to promote permanent and universal peace.*"

In pursuance of these resolutions and arrangements, the Convention is *now*, in the good providence of God, permitted to assemble. The object which is before it, is one of the most interesting and important for which a large assembly can be convened, and can be approached only in deep seriousness of spirit, with true benevolence of heart, and in humble dependence upon Divine aid; without this, all our deliberations will be unprofitable and vain. The pacific principles of Christianity are as yet very imperfectly understood by too many of the disciples of Jesus, and have been but partially enforced and diffused by those who have received them. It is for this Convention to give greater prominence to these principles, and to devise means whereby they may be more generally known, and more practically regarded. To enlighten the public mind, and to concentrate and employ the force of public opinion to influence those who have the rule over the nations against war, and in favor of peace, is one of the most necessary and legitimate efforts of Christian benevolence and zeal. War is, unquestionably, one of the greatest evils which afflict mankind; not only are the horrors of the battle-field indescribable, but the entire tendency of the military system is demoralizing and debasing in the greatest degree; whilst the wilful sacrifice of life involves an amount of guilt which no human mind can duly estimate; and the dishonor done to the name and religion of Jesus,—to say nothing of the hindrances thrown in the way of its progress, or the sanction given to the cavils of infidelity, is too serious and extensive to be fully realized. This is the evil we deplore and reprobate. We meet to bear testimony against it before the world, and to devise means for its extinction. We can employ no violence;

our cause does not need it; our religion forbids it. "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace." "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." Our only weapon is truth; our only authority, the gospel of our Saviour; our only object, "peace on earth, and good-will towards men;" our only temper, "the meekness and gentleness of Christ." Mere human effort, indeed, would effect little; but "we can do all things" by the power and help of the Most High. He is our strength, and our stay. His promise cannot fail. We meet under his sanction, and we desire to deliberate and act in his fear.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE CONVENTION.

The Convention, in accordance with the call, was composed of the officers and committee of the London Peace Society, and of persons specially nominated by that committee, or delegated from other peace societies in different countries, from religious bodies, from philanthropic, literary and scientific associations, and from towns or districts convened for the purpose.

Of the delegates thus appointed, 6 were from the continent of Europe, 37 from America, and 294 from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; in all 337, of whom about one half were in actual attendance, besides a considerable, perhaps an equal number of visitors, both ladies and gentlemen, who were present during all the sessions for business.

#### BASIS OF THE CONVENTION.

The Convention was called on the principle, "*that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind;*" and for the purpose of "*deliberating upon the best means, under the Divine blessing, to show the world the evil and inexpediency of the spirit and practice of war, and to promote permanent and universal peace.*" An attempt was made by a few to alter this basis, by rendering the *principle* exclusive of those who might not believe war to be under all possible or supposable circumstances, inconsistent with Christianity; but this proposal was almost unanimously negatived, for the reasons, that the phraseology might be fairly understood to express the highest views of thorough peace men, that the Convention was not competent to change the terms on which it had been called, and that persons differing on some points of the peace question, yet anxious for the abolition of war as an unchristian and most pernicious custom, were known to be present in response to the published call.

#### RULES OF THE CONVENTION.

For the purpose of rendering its business more expeditious and effective, the Convention adopted for substance the following rules:—That, the fundamental principle not being open to dispute, the attention of its members be directed exclusively to the consideration and adoption of such means as may most speedily and certainly effect the great object in view;—that there be two sessions every day, each of which continued in fact from four to five hours;—that the secretaries be a committee of arrangements to whom all papers, propositions and other business for the Convention, shall be submitted before the close of the sitting previous to the one on which they were to be introduced;—that the Secretaries report, before the close of each sitting, the subjects of business for the next sitting;—tha

committees be appointed, as occasion may require, to draft addresses, draw up resolutions, and perform other business;—and that all documents emanating from the Convention, be signed by the President.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION.

CHARLES HINDLEY, Esq., M. P., *President*.

*Vice Presidents*:—The MARQUIS DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD LIANCOURT, Paris, member of the Chamber of Deputies, and President of the Society of Christian Morals;

JOSEPH BROTHERTON, Esq., M. P.;

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., Birmingham;

JOHN TAPPAN, Esq., Vice President A. P. S., Boston;

AMASA WALKER, Esq., do Prof. in Oberlin Institute;

THOMAS COCK, M. D., do New York.

*Secretaries*:—FREDERICK WHEELER, Esq., of Stroud; WILLIAM GRIMSHAW, Esq., of the London Committee; GEORGE WOOD, Esq., of Bath; Rev. GEO. C. BECKWITH, Secretary of the American Peace Society; Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON, Secretary of the London Peace Society.

As we shall give no such account of the Convention as would show who took a leading part in its proceedings, it may be well here to state, that its most active members, beside its officers, were John Lee, LL. D., F. R. S. &c., chairman of the London Peace Society; Rev. James Hargreaves, of the Baptist Church at Waltham Abbey, and for many years one of the Secretaries of the London Society; Alexander Brockway, assistant Secretary; Rev. John Burnett, of Camberwell; Rev. John Pye Smith, D. D., F. R. S., London; Rev. John Ritchie, D. D., Scotland; Joseph T. Price, Esq., of Swansea; Samuel Bowley, Esq., of Gloucester; the Sturges of London and Birmingham; William Forster, Esq., of Norwich; William Storr Fry, of London, son of the celebrated Mrs. Elizabeth Fry; Samuel Gurney, Esq., her brother, and one of the first Bankers in London; Edward Smith, Esq., of Sheffield; Geo. M. Gibbes, Esq., of Paris; Rev. Edward Miall, the able editor of the London Nonconformist; Rev. James Sherman, the successor of the late Rowland Hill, in Surrey Chapel; H. T. J. Macnamara, Esq., of the Inner Temple, and author of the Prize Essay on Peace; Rev. James Carlile, London; Joseph Samms, Esq., Barnard Castle; John Allen, Esq., Liskeard; Richard D. Webb, Esq., Dublin; Mr. H. C. Wright, delegate from Manchester; Rev. William Lucy, of Bristol; Rev. A. G. O'Neile, Birmingham; John Scoble, Esq., London; Rev. William Brock, Norwich; Rev. John W. Wayne, Hitchin; Rev. John Stock, a devoted friend of peace from that strong-hold of war, Chatham; John Barclay, Esq., Birmingham; Mr. S. Rigaud, agent of the London Peace Society, but delegate from that of Geneva, Switzerland; John Bowring, LL. D., M. P., John Harris, Esq., and Rev. Messrs. Charles Stovel, Thomas Spencer, and T. Pyne, of the London committee. Beside these, were Lord Grosvenor, William Sharman Crawford, M. P., Richard Cobden, M. P., Joseph Hume, M. P., W. Ewart, M. P., Rev. F. A. Cox, D. D. LL. D., Hon. J. S. Buckingham, and others of England; Mons. Verrue, Secretary of the Peace Society at Brussels; S. P. Andrews, Esq., of Texas; Lewis Tappan, Esq., New York; Rev. A. A. Phelps, and Rev. Joshua Leavitt,

Boston; Rev. Robert Baird, D. D., Secretary of the Foreign Evangelical Society, New York; Rev. J. W. Pennington, Hartford; Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, and Arnold Buffum, Esq., Cincinnati; H. H. Kellogg, Indiana; Isaac Collins, Esq., of Philadelphia, but now resident in London; nearly all of whom took a prominent part in the proceedings.

Such were some of the most active members of the Convention; and letters were communicated from the following and other gentlemen, expressing their concurrence in its objects, and their regret at not being able to attend, viz.: Samuel E. Coues, Esq., President of the American Peace Society; S. V. S. Wilder, Esq., Mass., one of the Vice-Presidents; Anson G. Phelps, Esq., New York, do.; Hon. James G. Birney, Michigan; Rev. C. E. Stowe, D. D., Prof. in Lane Seminary, Cincinnati; Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., President of Georgetown College, Ky.; William Dawes, Esq., and Messrs. H. C. Taylor, and H. Hill, Oberlin, Ohio; Rev. Alpheus Crosby, Prof. in Dartmouth College, N. H.; Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., Prof. in Bowdoin College, Maine; Hon. William Jay, New York; Hon. Thomas W. Williams, New London, Ct.; W. H. Y. Hackett, Esq., Portsmouth, N. H.; John Howland, Esq., the venerable President of the R. I. Peace Society, and others in America; and also from Joseph John Gurney, Esq., Norwich, Eng.; Joseph Eaton, Esq., Bristol; Rev. O. S. Dobbin, LL. B., Exeter; Sir F. A. Mackenzie; Rev. Richard Knill, Wotton-under-Edge; Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart., Brayton Hall; Edward Baines, Esq., Leeds; Kedgwin Hoskins, Esq., M. P.; Rev. T. G. Stamper, Uxbridge; Thomas Hancock, M. D., Lisburne; James Gilpin, Esq., Bristol; James Day, London; &c. &c., Prof. J. S. Mollett, Amsterdam, Holland; Rev. William Hoffman, Basle, Switzerland; M. Appia, Frankfurt; M. Ramu, Pastor, Geneva; M. Pecquer, Paris; Rev. John Roaf, Toronto, Canada; Count de Frolich, Stockholm, &c. &c.

#### PRINCIPAL DOCUMENTS LAID BEFORE THE CONVENTION.

##### 1. *On the Sinfulness and Impolicy of War, by the Rev. John Burnett.*

This able paper, after defining sin to be "that which is contrary to the will of God," proceeds to apply this definition to war by showing how it perverts the powers God has given us—how it violates his arrangements in nature—how it contravenes the precepts and aims of revelation. This last point is argued at length both from the New Testament and the Old, showing that the latter, as truly as the former, is opposed to the spirit and practices of war; that the fact of the Israelites having been employed by God himself to inflict punitive justice upon the Canaanites who had grievously provoked his displeasure by their sin, does not disprove the contrariety of war to the precepts of the Old Testament; that it every where enjoins such brotherly kindness even towards strangers as is incompatible with war; that the whole of the Old Testament is in harmony with the spirit and precepts of the New, which are so utterly inconsistent with this custom. More specific arguments are then drawn from the New Testament, and some objections answered.

The next topic is the *impolicy of war*, illustrated at considerable length. The instability of nations from this cause is shown in ancient Egypt; in the Chaldean and Persian empires; in the conquests of Alexander, and of the Romans; in the vast monarchy of Charlemagne, and the revolutionary wars of France.

The writer next describes some of the difficulties which the friends of peace have to encounter from the prejudices of mankind who are taught

from earliest childhood to regard war as the chief honor of nations. Painting and sculpture, history, poetry and eloquence, the press and the pulpit, the school-room and the fire-side, all have conspired to throw around the custom a factitious halo of glory. It is a most inveterate delusion, almost as old, and quite as wide-spread, as the world.

Mr. Burnett then contrasts the present state of England with what uninterrupted peace, and the employment for useful purposes of the talents and money hitherto worse than wasted in war, would have made it. The sea-girt isle might have been from one end to the other a perfect garden, and her now famished population rejoicing in all the comforts, if not the luxuries of life. The philosopher, the man of science or literature, the common teacher, the engineer, the mechanic, the farmer, every intellectual or physical laborer contributes something to the support, the comfort or improvement of society; but what does the warrior do except to destroy? What else is the object or the result of war?

The argument closes with a warm and forcible appeal to the philanthropist, the moralist, and especially the religious man, to examine, in the light of God's truth, this great sin and scourge of the world, and unite in the use of proper means for its abolition.

This paper called forth an able and interesting discussion, in which Messrs. Hargreaves, Beckwith, William Forster, Pilkington, Fuller, Buffum, Dr. Ritchie, and others took part. It was at length referred to a committee, on whose report at the next session, a vote of "cordial thanks" was passed to "the Rev. John Burnett for his able and excellent paper," and a resolution adopted, that it be printed "with the author's name attached, leaving with him the responsibility of the sentiments contained therein."

## 2. *On the best practical means of Peace, by H. T. J. Macnamara.*

This document, the largest and most important that was brought before the Convention, and designed to take special notice of the suggestions by Judge Jay concerning Arbitration, and by the late William Ladd respecting a Congress of Nations, proceeds, after some introductory remarks, to state, that all means must aim to *rectify public opinion on the subject*. Public opinion, once set right, will be sure ere-long to accomplish our object.

The writer then goes on to inquire *how popular attention may be secured, how public opinion may be best excited to this object, and to what particular modes of action it should be directed*.

The gospel, rightly applied, is the main instrument; yet it is proper and sometimes very desirable to urge the inferior but auxiliary considerations of humanity, liberty and sound policy. We should address ourselves mainly to the sense of duty as taught in the Bible; but we may and should appeal also to the dictates of expediency and self-interest. A multitude of such appeals the cause of peace would furnish; and we ought in its behalf to wield every lawful influence.

There are various methods of bringing the arguments of peace before the public to good effect, such as *the press, public lectures, preaching, public meetings, social intercourse, instruction in seminaries of learning, appeals in certain cases to legislatures*. All these are amplified and urged with much force.

The writer next discusses the proposed *substitutes for war*, viz.: **ARBITRATION AND A CONGRESS OF NATIONS**. He dwells first and chiefly on the plan suggested by the Hon. Judge Jay of New York, for the insertion of a clause in international treaties, binding the parties to refer all international disputes to **ARBITRATION**. This plan is recommended by its simplicity, its practicability, and the actual success of arbitration whenever it has been tried, even without the binding force of a treaty stipulation. Mr. M. shows by a number of facts in history, that war does not decide



national disputes, and that *arbitration* on the contrary does. He next refers to the authority of writers upon *international law*, and shows that they are in favor of arbitration. The advantages of this plan in point of *economy*, in the promotion of freedom, and the preservation of life, are also shown.

Mr. M. then proceeds to show that the adoption of Judge Jay's proposal would probably lead to the plan suggested by WILLIAM LADD, Esq., viz.: "That a Congress of Nations should be formed, consisting of wise and good men of all countries, whose office it should be to remodel the code of international law, and to exercise legislative functions as far as regards such code; and that there should also be a Court of Nations, to act judicially in deciding the disputes that might arise among different states." In the mean time, efforts should be made to obtain an amendment of the code of international law, and to prevent war, by *petitions*, &c., when it is threatened. Every thing which tends to foster the war-spirit should be discountenanced, as *military parades and reviews*, the erection of *military monuments and statues*, and the *keeping up of standing armies*. The repeal of all *laws compelling military service* should be sought, and also the removal of *unnecessary restrictions upon commerce*. The paper closes with a short appeal for immediate and persevering effort.

This important paper, after various incidental remarks by several members, was referred to a large committee with instructions to bring forward a series of resolutions for the purpose of embodying the sense of the Convention on the most prominent and effective means for the promotion of universal and permanent peace. Those resolves will be introduced more properly in another place, and also the discussions to which they gave rise. The document, with a vote of thanks to the author, was adopted for publication with the writer's name.

3. *On Preparation for War*; a short but well-argued paper prepared by Joshua P. Blanchard, General Agent of the American Peace Society, and designed to refute the maxim, that "to preserve peace, a nation must be prepared for war." The absurdity of this sentiment is shown by an appeal to other cases in which the same argument might be used. The falsehood of this assumption is proved by a reference to history, the philosophy of politics, and religion; and the practice is shown to be inefficacious for security, and disastrous in its results. And because this axiom, however popular, is thus irrational, false, and mischievous, it is shown to be the duty of the friends of peace to protest against such preparations. "All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword." This paper, like the two preceding, was referred to the London committee for publication in the full report expected ere-long in a volume.

4. *An Address to Christian Ministers, Teachers in Colleges and Schools, and the Professors of Christianity generally.*

This address, prepared by the Rev. J. Pye Smith, D. D., LL. D., F. R. S., and the acceptance of which was moved by Lord Grosvenor, begins by referring to the history of the peace principle, distinctly recognized in the early ages of Christianity—then long lost sight of—revived by Erasmus—adopted at a later period by the Society of Friends—now diffused by peace societies. He next speaks of war as including every sin, and instances lying, dishonesty, murder, &c.; and then proceeds to address ministers of the gospel, instructors of youth, men of science and letters, the friends of missions, and those Christians who have embraced the pacific principles of the gospel, calling upon all in their respective spheres to come to the help of this holy cause.

5. *Statistical Documents*; consisting in part of answers to queries concerning the moral state of the army and navy from Thomas Thrush,

Robert J. Rouse, and J. E. Morgridge, all of whom had been in the service ; but chiefly furnished with great labor by John Allen, of Liskeard, showing the number of soldiers employed in wars—numbers slain—numbers wounded—numbers pensioned, &c.—expenses of wars—present state of the army and navy in different countries, and a variety of kindred topics. These documents, for which the Convention passed a vote of thanks, were referred for publication.

#### PRINCIPAL RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONVENTION.

It comes not within our plan to publish any resolves of mere current business ; but we shall subjoin all those of a general nature and permanent interest, except four or five passed at the public meeting in Exeter Hall, of the same import with those adopted at the sessions for business, and copied below.

**ON THE SINFULNESS OF WAR.**—"That this meeting, regarding the whole scope of the New Testament, and the awful ravages of war among the nations of the earth, is confirmed, in the strong conviction, that 'War is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind.'"

**ON THE CONSEQUENT DUTY OF CHRISTIANS.**—"That under a deep sense of the sinfulness of war, and of the duty of Christians to adopt every measure for diffusing the principles of peace, this meeting would earnestly invite the cordial co-operation of all who profess the name of Christ, in the discharge of this duty, and in the general proportion of organized societies for this special object."

"That Christian women, having as deep an interest as any other portion of Society in the progress of peace, owe to this cause the same aid which they have with so much zeal and success rendered to kindred enterprises of benevolence and reform."

**SOME OF THE MEANS TO BE USED.**—*Efforts among the mass of the people.*—"That this Convention, believing the time is fully come for making additional efforts to extend among all nations the heaven-born principles of peace, earnestly recommends the friends of peace throughout the world, and especially in France, America, and England, immediately to consider and adopt such measures as they may conceive to be best adapted, under their varied circumstances, for the general diffusion of the principles of peace among all classes of the community, but especially among the masses of the people, as being the only effectual mode of producing that amount of public opinion in their favor which will ensure the permanent prevention of war in every civilized country in the world."

**USE OF THE PRESS.**—"That this Convention recommends to the friends of peace to promote the publication of articles in support of peace principles, in the periodicals of their respective countries, together with cheap tracts, circulars, hand-bills, &c., to be generally diffused among the people, and especially the poorer classes, as extensively as possible ; and that they give the most liberal encouragement in their power, to those presses which issue such publications."

**LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS.**—"That peace societies be recommended to direct the attention of their agents to the necessity of not only delivering public lectures, but of using their best efforts to effect a regular organization of the whole country into county or other district associations, in the belief that such associations would not only embrace, in many instances, sufficient local talent and zeal to enable them to hold efficient public meetings in their districts without foreign aid, but would secure, through their agency, a more complete and extensive organization by the establishment in the smaller towns, and even the villages of these respective districts, of branches of the 'parent peace society.'"

"That national peace societies be recommended to suggest to district and auxiliary associations, the importance of disseminating the principles of peace through the medium of the local press, by introducing the knowledge of such principles, as far as may be permitted, into all public schools, mechanics' institutions, &c.; and more especially by encouraging the formation of societies or associations among the working classes, from which the great mass of the army and navy is drawn."

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.—"That this Convention, deeming it of the greatest importance that the minds of the rising generation should be thoroughly imbued with the principles of peace, and believing that Sabbath day and other schools afford an excellent opportunity for effecting this object, recommends the committee of the Peace Society in London, and all other peace societies, to prepare and issue a suitable address to children on this deeply interesting and important subject; and further to circulate amongst this interesting portion of the community, such tracts and books, as may be calculated to interest and instruct the juvenile mind."

"That this Convention, composed of persons of various nations for the purpose of deliberating upon the best means, under the Divine blessing, of promoting permanent and universal peace, considers that military schools and colleges, and similar institutions, established for the purpose of training youth in the knowledge and the use of arms, are contrary to the spirit of Christianity; and that for the noblest faculties with which God has endued his creatures, to be cultivated for the express purpose of rendering men learned in the science, and skilful in the art of war, is at variance with the object for which our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world, and the whole scope of his mission upon earth. They therefore, in the exercise of that charity which desires and would promote the best interests of all men, submit whether it be not an act of inconsistency in Christian parents to send their children to such establishments to be taught the art and science of war, and also in their early youth to place them on board of ships of war, that they may be trained in that discipline and those arts by which these vast engines of human destruction are rendered most efficient for the accomplishment of their direful purpose."

ON ARBITRATION INSTEAD OF WAR.—"That this Convention earnestly recommends to governments, members of legislative bodies, and public functionaries, the adoption of *the principle of arbitration* for the adjustment of all international differences; and that stipulations be introduced into all international treaties to provide for this mode of adjustment; whereby recourse to war may be entirely avoided between such nations as shall agree to abide by such stipulation."

ON A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.—"That, while recommending the plan of Judge JAY, which proposes that nations should enter into treaty stipulations to refer their differences to the arbitration of a friendly power, as a measure the most *immediately* available for the prevention of war, we still regard, as peace societies have from their origin regarded, especially as set forth by the late WILLIAM LADD, Esq., *a Congress of Nations to settle and perfect the code of international law, and a High Court of Nations to interpret and apply that law for the settlement of all national disputes*, as that which should be further kept in view by the friends of peace, and urged upon the governments as one of the best practical modes of settling peacefully and satisfactorily such international disputes."

ON PREPARATION FOR WAR.—"That in the opinion of this Convention, preparations for war are so many incentives to war, and ought to be discouraged by all friends of peace."

ON THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF ARMS.—"That this Convention, assembled for the purpose of deliberating upon the best means, under the Divine blessing, of showing the world the evil and inexpediency of the spirit and practice of war, and to promote permanent and universal peace,

are encouraged in their great object by their belief, that he 'who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them,' will work through the instrumentality of his servants for the bringing in of that day, when the people 'shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.' They would therefore respectfully and affectionately submit to their fellow-Christians of every nation, whether to make the manufacture and sale of arms and ammunition for warlike purposes their trade and calling in life, be not inconsistent with their high profession, and whether by adopting such a course they are not doing their part towards impeding the coming of that day when wars shall cease unto the ends of the earth; and whether it does not virtually disqualify them, as faithful men, from contributing towards the establishment among the nations, of 'the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ,' the 'Prince of Peace.'"

**RESISTANCE OF THREATENED WARS.**—"That whenever any symptoms of the approach of war in which the countries here represented in this Convention are likely to be engaged, arise, the committees of the peace societies should call upon their friends throughout the country to awaken the public attention to the subject, and without waiting for the actual declaration of war, and regardless of all political considerations or suspicions, enter their firm but respectful protest against such threatened war, whatever may be its pretext, or whoever may be its advocates and supporters, in such a manner as may appear to them best calculated to secure the preservation of peace."

**RESOLVES IN PURSUANCE OF THIS RECOMMENDATION.—Case of Ireland.**—"That whilst this meeting most unequivocally avows its attachment to civil order and good government, it is nevertheless constrained to declare its serious alarm at the preparations which are being made for the preservation of tranquillity in Ireland, by the employment of military force; and recommends to the friends of peace throughout the world, to adopt all peaceful constitutional measures, by memorials, petitions, or otherwise, in order to avert so fearful a calamity."

**WARS IN THE EAST.**—"That the recent wars in China, Affghanistan, and Scinde, are, in the opinion of this Convention, gross violations of all equitable and Christian principles; and directly calculated to prejudice the reception of evangelical truth in those heathen nations, as well as to depreciate the character and influence of the British people throughout the whole civilized world; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the members of the British Government and Parliament."

**OPIUM TRADE WITH CHINA.**—"That the maintenance of peace with China, by which, under Providence, the blessings of Christianity might gradually be extended to one-third of the population of the globe, is earnestly to be desired; but it is the deliberate opinion of this Convention, that the contraband traffic in opium carried on by British subjects, being a source of extreme irritation to the government and people of that empire, threatens again to renew the horrors which characterized the recent war; and that it is the bounden duty of the delegates, individually and collectively, to exert themselves for the suppression of this great evil."

**SOME AUXILIARIES OF PEACE.**—"That this Convention regards the mutual dependence of nations upon each other, arising out of an unrestricted interchange of their legitimate productions as one of the best securities for peace."

"That since intemperance is in various ways one of the principal causes of the violation of peace, this Convention earnestly presses upon all classes, the necessity of promoting to the extent of their power and influence the principles and practice of true temperance."

## ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DAILY INTERNATIONAL PEACE JOURNAL AT PARIS.

This project, as an auxiliary to the cause of peace, owes its origin to our distinguished countryman, GEORGE M. GIBBES, Esq., a native of South Carolina, and a graduate of Harvard University, but resident at Paris for the last thirteen years. Its immediate importance was suggested to him by the failure of efforts made by the friends of peace in England and America, to secure *at present*, any decisive action of their respective governments for a Congress of Nations; and he urges his proposed journal "as a temporary substitute for such a congress."

The power of the daily press, says Mr. G., is familiar to us all; but its utility would be immeasurably increased, were guarantees provided against its perversion, and the promulgation of truth made not only an interest, but a necessary condition of its existence. To attain such a combination, is the aim of the project for an International Journal at the central point of intelligence and reform upon the European continent; at the spot whence emanate the doctrines by which the policy of most European governments is more or less controlled, and whence also are issued the most false and dangerous theories; in the midst of the freest, most impressible and most warlike people on the continent of Europe.

The press in France is the great lever of its government, of its political factions, and private monopolies. Unlike the same engine in England and the United States, where its power depends in a great degree upon its accord with public sentiment, it is itself the exciting, and often the directing power. The public receive their impressions, and form their opinions mainly in conformity with the doctrines prepared for them through this medium; and these doctrines, when coinciding with the national propensities, such as that of war, are hurried into execution with irresistible extravagance. It was but recently, (on the Eastern question), that the party in power gave the war-cry through their subsidized organs, and by means of magnified representations, and reiterated appeals to prejudice, roused a spirit which was well nigh bursting the barriers of peace, and involving all Christendom once more in the horrors of war.

The subject of a Congress and Court of Nations for the suppression of war, has been little, if ever, discussed in the continental press, and, like other slow meliorations of a rooted evil, will be regarded as chimerical, until appropriate and frequent explanations as to its practicability, are brought to act upon public opinion. The proposed journal is believed to be a necessary precursor of such a measure; for, even were the exertions of the friends of peace in America to induce our own government to take the preliminary steps necessary to success, a more active and expansive instrument than diplomacy, would be requisite to awaken the tardy spirit of innovation through continental Europe.

In England and America, it has been chiefly by means of public lectures and tracts, that humane objects have been brought into popular favor; but neither of these is likely to be successfully practised in France at this time. The principal publication in support of moral reform, that by the "Society of Christian Morals," has but a few hundred subscribers; and this, being a monthly paper, is much too slow in its appeals to attract the attention of a people who are by nature disposed to think and act with vivacity, and from the impulse of the moment. In order effectually to seize the public mind with the advantages of peace, it is desirable that the subject be presented daily to their imaginations, upon the same page, and in close combination with the discussion of ordinary topics, and details of social progress, to which the French are eminently disposed. Possessing as little vindictive spirit as any people under the sun, and naturally

indifferent and indulgent to the conduct of other nations, they are believed to be highly susceptible of imbibing a taste for universal peace. As a people, they are kind-hearted, generous, and happy; and these, it must be admitted, are qualities most suitable for accomplishing a moral reform such as the one in question.

That war should still be their dominant propensity is not to be wondered at. The journals indeed may be said to constitute one of the standard sources of popular education, since they are perused with avidity by all classes of youth; and what was remarked by the Rev. David Bogue, in his discourse upon peace, with regard to the books used in schools, is particularly applicable to this description of reading in France. 'To the spirit of peace, the prejudices of education are all opposed. The books which the scholar learns to read, teach him to hate or to despise every nation but his own; they represent war as the theatre of glory; they tell him to rejoice in the miseries inflicted on the people of another country by those of his own; and they render him passionately ambitious to wear the ensanguined laurels of victory, by achieving something in the work of destruction which will be above the common standard. With such sentiments have the greater part of statesmen and nobles come from the school and college into the Senate and Cabinet. Such is the morality which is most commonly found in the speeches of most public men. From them it has descended to the humbler stations of society, and thus has pervaded the general mass of the community; and, from the highest to the lowest class, it operates with mighty power, as one of the chief causes why men have not imbibed, nor acted in that spirit of peace which Christianity enjoins.

The following estimate of the newspaper press in France is taken from an article in the *Journal of the Society of Christian Morals*, a periodical distinguished for sincerity and truth. 'A second class of publications universally read, is the political newspapers. There are in Paris and the departments, at least 250,000 subscribers, which authorizes the presumption, that there are more than a million of readers; and, if we consider that the greater part of these journals are published daily, and the remainder two or three times a week, we must multiply each of these 250,000 copies by 300, forming a total of 75,000,000 of political journals published in France in the course of a year. What do these journals contain? Political news; the parliamentary debates; reports of criminal cases distinguished by the atrocity of crime, or by the amount of scandal; much party discussion, inexhaustible personalities, and a multitude of little frivolous and immoral articles which do not allow of being analyzed. Whoever makes these newspapers their principal reading, (and how many do), will never think of God or eternity. The most popular of these papers are now in the habit of publishing romances filled with loose maxims, base sentiments, and indecent descriptions. What counterbalance can we oppose to this enormous influence of the political press? All the religious publications together have not 6,000 subscribers, and they are nearly all within the limits of the Protestant Church.'

The 200,000 electors, in whom is vested the real force of the nation, are certainly very far from being an enlightened class; but a body more apt at instruction, and susceptible of friendly impressions, nowhere exists. Their views are very much what the political press makes them; and such journals will of course be prompt, on occasions of national difficulties, to espouse the popular side, with little regard to the merits of the controversy, and by exciting hostile passions, embarrass the efforts of both governments for the restoration of harmony; a striking illustration of which, Mr. G. quotes in the dispute of 1835 with ourselves, when opposition presses and politicians had well nigh forced the king and his ministers, against their strong and well-known wishes, into a war with the United States.

"The establishment, then of an independent journal, representing the combined interests of these great constitutional nations of the western world (England, France, and America), who by their united maritime force, unbounded pecuniary resources, and moral energy, are capable at any time of dictating pacific laws to the world, must be considered by every enlightened mind, as one of the noblest enterprises of modern intelligence, calculated at once to preserve peace, award justice, circulate knowledge, and advance prosperity. Projected upon a larger scale than any paper now existing in Paris, and organized under the direction of individuals, already distinguished for their disinterested benevolence, and enlightened views, the great cause of civilization must be signally promoted by its extensive circulation. It is not too much, indeed, to anticipate, that the benignant principles intended to be propagated through its medium, may lead to the formation of leagues for the exercise of brotherly affections between nations, such as are now found inoperative. The application of the true principles of international law, the abolition of the African slave trade, and of piracy, the extinction of maritime war itself, are dependent mainly upon the active concert of the three powers in question."

This journal its projector (having no personal interest in it himself) proposes to put under the control either of eminent individuals, or of the three Peace Societies of Paris, London and America conjointly, with a Frenchman of eminent abilities for an editor, and with his Excellency HENRY WHEATON, our minister to Prussia, JOHN BOWRING, LL. D., M. P., and M. DE LAMARTINE, "one of the most distinguished statesmen and moralists in France," as directors, representing the three nations most immediately concerned. He wishes to raise a fund of 600,000 francs in shares of 1,000 each; and, as an illustration of its profits in case of success, he states, "that one of the leading newspapers in Paris, now valued at six or seven millions of francs, is estimated to derive a net *annual* revenue very nearly equal to its original cost; and that the shares of another, originally 1,000 francs each, are now valued at 160,000, and have been sold for more than 200,000. Yet neither of these journals has more than 8,000 subscribers, and their circulation out of France is very inconsiderable."

This project Mr. Gibbes brought before the Convention; and, though there was not time for a full discussion of the subject, the following action was taken in its favor, viz.:

"Whereas the enlightenment of public opinion on the folly and wickedness of war, is indispensable to the promotion of universal peace; and whereas the press, particularly on the continent of Europe, must for the present be the chief instrument in reaching and swaying the public mind on this as on kindred subjects; it is therefore resolved, that a committee of seven be appointed to suggest what steps can be most suitably adopted to render the press available to this end."

On the report of that committee, it was resolved "That this Convention, having been informed that it is proposed by some of the warm friends of peace in France, to establish a newspaper in Paris, which shall make it a leading object to advocate the principle of the Peace Society, viz.: 'that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interest of mankind,' hereby expresses its opinion that, if such a paper can be well sustained, it will be eminently calculated, under the Divine blessing, to promote the object of the Peace Society."

DOCUMENTS OF THE CONVENTION.—"That all books, records, and correspondence relating to this Convention be, at the close of its sittings, confided to the keeping of the committee of the London Peace Society, until it may be permitted to the Convention to meet again, for the purpose of their making such use thereof as they may judge best."

A SECOND CONVENTION.—“That the Peace Society of London be authorized by this Convention, to announce to the world, the time and place for holding a second Peace Convention, when it shall be satisfied as to the right time and place, after communicating with its corresponding associations in Europe and America.”

CLOSING RESOLUTION.—“That this Convention in coming to the close of its important deliberations, desires to record its gratitude to God for the harmony which by his condescension has marked its proceedings; and in separating from each other, its members desire to commend one another, and their great cause to the blessing of the Lord.”

#### ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

This address, one of the most important measures of the Convention, reported by a very able committee of which Joseph Sturge, Esq., was chairman, and adopted in the end with perfect unanimity, was as follows:

*“The Delegates appointed to represent the friends of Universal Peace, of various nations, assembled in Convention, in London, June, 1843,*

#### “TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

“For rational beings possessing immortal souls to be systematically trained to kill each other, is in itself so utterly opposed, not only to the Christian religion, but to the dictates of humanity, that nothing but the natural depravity of the human heart, the force of education, and long familiarity with war, can account for the general prevalence of this monstrous system.

“Under a deep sense of the enormous evils which mankind have so long and so extensively suffered from the wars which have desolated the earth, this Convention is more especially impressed with the great responsibility of those who are in a position to direct the counsels of nations, and appeals to them to adopt the most effectual measures to prevent the continuance of this terrible scourge of the human race.

“The Convention is of opinion that one of the greatest securities against the recurrence of international warfare, would be the recognition of *the principle of arbitration, and the introduction of a clause into treaties*, binding themselves to refer all differences that may arise to the adjudication of one or more friendly powers; and it earnestly recommends the adoption of this practice.

“The Convention, in a spirit of Christian love, respectfully urges upon those who are invested with the highest authority, the promotion of ‘*peace on earth and good-will to men*’; and would also express its conviction, that such a course would be especially blessed by him, ‘*by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice*.’

“Signed, on behalf of the Convention,

“CHARLES HINDLEY, *President*.”

RECEPTION OF THE ADDRESS.—The foregoing address the London Peace Society was requested to forward, in the name of the Convention, to all the governments of the civilized world; and we copy the report of its presentation to some of the leading cabinets of the old world. It is on its way to the other governments; but we have not yet heard of its presentation in any other case.

*To the British Government.*—On the first of July, a deputation, consisting of the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, Paris; Lewis Tappan, Esq., New York; M. Verrue, Secretary of the Brussels Peace Society; M. de Lalung de Ferol; H. T. J. Macnamara, Esq., of the Inner Temple; Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer of the London Peace Society; John



Lee, LL. D., F. R. S., and Rev. John Jefferson, had the honor of an interview with Sir Robert Peel, to present the foregoing address. Dr. Bowring, M. P., introduced the deputation, and briefly stated their object. The address was read by Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of the London Peace Society, and very courteously received by the Prime Minister, who promised to place it before the other members of her Majesty's Government, and stated that the principle of arbitration has been frequently acted upon during the last twenty years. Sir Robert also said that, immediately upon the present differences arising between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, the British and French Governments put in strong remonstrances, and offered their friendly mediation. Mr. Tappan called the attention of Sir Robert to the particular point of introducing a binding clause into treaties; and Mr. Gurney spoke of the importance of governments acting upon Christian principles.

*To the King of Belgium.*—July 5, a deputation, composed of Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York; Thomas Fowler, Esq., Banker of London; Rev. John Woodward, of Tonbridge Chapel; and Rev. John Jefferson, Secretary of the London Peace Society; had the honor of presenting the same memorial to the King of Belgium, then on a visit to London. The deputation was introduced by John Bowring, LL. D., M. P., and most graciously received by his Majesty. The King expressed in strong terms his approval of the principle of arbitration, and referred to the satisfaction he had himself experienced in being employed as mediator in some cases where the danger of war had appeared. He spoke of a continental war as above all things to be deprecated, and regarded it as all but impossible, so long as Austria, France and England were united in favor of peace. His Majesty also referred to the threatened war in the east of Europe, and to the dispute between France and the United States respecting the payment of a sum of money, as instances in which the remonstrance and friendly interference of other powers had led to the most satisfactory results.

*To Louis Philippe.*—The address from the Convention was entrusted, for the King of France, to the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, of Paris, and to Messrs. Geo. C. Beckwith, Amasa Walker, John R. Willis, and Dr. Thomas Cock, of the United States. In the absence of the Marquis, his place was supplied by the Rev. William Toase, an Englishman long resident in Paris, and a member of the Peace Committee of the Society of Christian Morals.

"Through the politeness of M. Guizot, the Prime Minister," says one of the deputation, "we obtained leave of audience with his Majesty on the 20th of July at his Palace of Neuilly, some five miles from the Tuilleries. Our reception was all we could desire, and much more than we had ventured to expect. The King welcomed us not only with the courtesy so characteristic of him, but with a frank, warm, easy cordiality that made us at once feel ourselves at home in his presence. After answering his inquiries about the different parts of America from which most of us had come, and where he said he had travelled so long ago as 1795—6, we introduced the object of our mission by presenting the address of the Convention, and requesting his favorable consideration of its contents.

'I receive the address,' his Majesty replied, 'with great pleasure. It is a subject in which we all have a deep interest; and I am sure I have always done what I could to preserve peace. When a young man, travelling in America, I used, when called upon for a toast or sentiment, always to give—a *general peace*.' When assured, that his influence in preserving peace was fully appreciated in America, his Majesty alluded with regret to the danger of war in 1835 between the two countries, but added, 'How happily we settled the matter in the end without war, and honorably to both nations.' We told him we wished to supersede *all* war by introducing arbitration as a substitute; and he readily expressed his

approbation of the principle and referred to the case of England and America, of the United States and Mexico, and several others, in illustration of its general efficiency. 'Still,' added the King, 'the bad passions of men, which have so often hurried nations into war, may frustrate our best efforts at conciliation. Nor is this all; for we find one of our greatest dangers in the very means we employ for the preservation of peace. You know we must have our armies to keep peace; but unfortunately they are themselves the instruments of war, and sometimes occasion the very evil they are intended to prevent. 'Yet,' continued his Majesty, 'I think the time is coming when we shall get rid of war entirely in all civilized countries. They are beginning to learn more wisdom; and, thank God, war now costs too much for nations to afford it. Napoleon began his great wars with 35 millions in the treasury; but that was only a drop to the ocean in comparison with what those wars eventually cost.'

After a conversation in this strain for some fifteen minutes, we took leave of his Majesty with a renewed assurance, that he would give the subject of the address a serious and favorable consideration. Of the ultimate result we cannot of course predict; but none of us could have hoped for a better reception of our object, or doubt the sincerity of Louis Philippe's interest in the general question of peace."

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Our limits will allow us to indulge in few of the remarks we wished to make; but we cannot close our condensed report without congratulating the friends of peace through the world. A general convention on such a subject was a bold and hazardous experiment; and well might its novelty, and the difficulty of its execution, awaken fears about its success; but we are happy to say, that the result banished those fears, and exceeded the expectations of its most sanguine friends. The number of its members, and the general respectability of their character, the harmony of its proceedings, and the entire unanimity of its action on every important point, the excellent Christian spirit that pervaded all its deliberations, the importance of the measures it suggested for the promotion of our cause, and the favorable impression it obviously made at the time even on London, that great centre of the world, all unite in calling for devout thanks to the God of peace, and encouraging not merely a continuance, but a large increase of our efforts and our hopes.

We were agreeably disappointed in the number of delegates present. It is no easy matter to assemble from both hemispheres, two hundred men on any subject, for a series of meetings to be continued nearly a week; and half the number we found there, would have equalled our highest expectations. We had not ventured even to hope for more than six or eight from America; and we need not say, that the presence of eighteen was as cheering to ourselves as it obviously was to our transatlantic friends.

Nor were we less pleased with the character of those whom we met in the Convention. We will not speak of the delegates from this side of the water, nor need we say more of those from the continent, than to quote a single specimen in the French Marquis, who presides over the Society of Christian Morals at Paris, a worthy descendant of one of the most illustrious and influential families in France; but of our English associates we may be permitted to remark, that they were some of the best spirits that could have been culled from the four quarters of the United Kingdom; such men as have been wont to lead the van in those great moral enterprises which constitute her chief glory; men to whom all sects in religion, and all parties in politics there, unite in a tribute of spontaneous respect.

This accounts in part for the favor which the Convention so promptly received from the British public. Its leading patrons and members were well known on the spot; and it was impossible for the people of England to regard with any other feelings than those of respect, a convention of

such men for such an object. The names of Hindley, and Smith, and Lee, and Burnett, and Gurney, and Sturge, and Foster, and Stovel, and Spencer, and Price, and Campbell, and a multitude of others, were sufficient to insure a favorable hearing; and of such importance was the Convention deemed, that all the leading daily papers of London had their reporters present to report its proceedings, as they do those of parliament. Their reports, though generally meagre, were fair and respectful; and such was the influence expected from the Convention, that the organ of the administration put forth one of its strongest efforts to neutralize the effect of a resolve, passed to prevent a resort to violence and bloodshed, supposed to be contemplated by the government, in the case of Ireland.

Still more favorable, perhaps, was the effect of the Convention in calling general attention to the subject of peace. We heard many gentlemen of intelligence and influence speak of it in this respect, and declare that it had already led themselves, and the community around them, to think of it more than ever before, and that it would, in their judgment, give a new and lasting impulse to the cause. Almost every thing in the Old World runs in the channel of authority; and the address to governments will long hold up our great object before all Christendom, and constrain both rulers and people to reflect more or less on its vast importance to mankind. All we need, is their general attention to the subject; and, if we can get them to look at it in the right way long enough, we shall be sure of ultimate, if not speedy success.

We cannot refrain from an allusion to the general spirit of the Convention. A strong religious feeling pervaded its deliberations; all its sessions were opened with devotional exercises of marked solemnity; every utterance of Christian sentiment met a prompt and warm response; and never have we been in any assembly of the kind that breathed a better spirit, that deliberated in greater harmony, or came to its conclusions with more unanimity. There was often intense interest in the discussions; but the set speeches were few and brief, because the members had met to act, rather than talk, and said what little they did only to secure the object they sought.

We do not, however, pretend that we accomplished all we desired. That was obviously impossible. We made a beginning: and that was all we had ventured to hope. Some of us had other measures of importance to propose; but, finding that the limits fixed for the Convention would not allow the full discussion requisite for harmonious, satisfactory action, we cheerfully waived them, in the expectation of their coming, in due time, before a second convention. We certainly cut out work enough for many years; and, long before this is all done, our friends will doubtless be prepared to meet again, and deliberate still further on the peace of the world.

We do not expect the importance of this Convention to be fully appreciated at present. Its final results it may take ages to disclose. Its influence is to be first, and chiefly, on the friends of peace themselves, in guiding and stimulating their efforts. It could do little more than form plans for them to execute. It could only furnish materials and instruments wherewith to work, and now it is theirs to use them both, with zeal and skill, in the furtherance of our cause. The Convention, neglected by the friends of peace, will turn to little account; but, if rightly used, and followed up every where by corresponding action, it will form an era in the cause, and be found to have done more for it than any five years of its past history.

We might, if permitted to go beyond the pale of the Convention, specify a variety of influences at work in Great Britain, and throughout Europe, for the furtherance of our cause. In church and state, among the high and the low, through all classes of society, we saw indications full of encouragement to the friends of peace. Almost every reform there links itself, more or less, with this; other reformers generally begin to feel and urge

its importance to their own success; and progress in any and every department, will be pretty sure to carry peace along with it, as a pioneer or auxiliary. The way of peace is obviously prepared, or fast preparing, all over the Old World; there never has been a time so auspicious to the cause as at the present; and the right kind and amount of efforts, if immediately put forth, and perseveringly sustained, would speed it to a glorious triumph.

We cannot close this brief report, without acknowledging our special obligations to our English brethren. On them devolved the chief responsibility of the Convention; and its success was owing very much to their liberality, wisdom and zeal. We will not speak of the money it cost them, though nearly as much as our whole income the last year; but we could not help admiring the kind and wise forecast of their arrangements to prevent useless debate, to facilitate business, and secure harmonious and efficient action. The result proved their wisdom; for in three days, we reached, with perfect unanimity, a number of conclusions, sufficient, without such preparation, to have consumed a week or fortnight. We ought perhaps to add, that the delegates from America received all the courtesy they could well desire. We allude not here to personal attentions; but, while nearly ten to our one, and consequently able to carry any point they chose, the English delegates passed nothing against our united wishes, and gave a kind, respectful hearing to all our propositions and arguments.

Still more conspicuous was the wisdom of our English brethren in their *Basis of the Convention*. It assumed, as a point not to be disputed, "that war is inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind," and restricted the business to the single point of devising means to secure the great and only object of peace men,—the permanent peace of the whole world. On this basis, but perhaps on no other, could all the friends of peace consistently and cordially unite; and we could wish it to be made in future the basis of all peace conventions and societies.

#### PUBLIC MEETING IN EXETER HALL.

The Convention closed its sessions with a public meeting in Exeter Hall, which was attended by about two thousand persons, and the interest well sustained for more than three hours. The speakers were Charles Hindley, M. P., President of the meeting, the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith, Rev. John Ritchie, D. D., Rev. Charles Stovel, Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, Hon. Joseph Hume, M. P., Amasa Walker, Esq., Hon. J. S. Buckingham, Joseph Sturge, Esq., Lewis Tappan, Esq., Rev. John Burnett, Arnold Buffum, Esq., John Tappan, Esq., and Rev. James Hargreaves.

#### SPEECHES.

The Convention was too intent on business to gratify itself with making or hearing set speeches, except at the public meeting in Exeter Hall. Of these latter no adequate report was preserved; and of the discussions or addresses at the sessions for business, we have room merely for a single specimen, and that only a part of the remarks made by the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt in French, and translated by Dr. Bowring.

"The Society of Christian Morals has for the last twenty years gained the good opinion of the public by defending all the doctrines of love and humanity. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, my father, was its first President; M. le Duc de Broglie, M. Guizot, M. Benjamin Constant, succeeded him; and I, unworthy as I am, have followed them in that office, who cannot lay claim to their attainments, and now ask from you the indulgence due to a deep conviction of the truth of your sentiments.

Descending into the social condition, this Society has zealously promoted the establishment of savings' banks;\* it has obtained the abolition of lotteries; and I had the honor of being its organ in the Chamber of Deputies, and of proposing the law

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\*Peace is only *one* of the objects of the Society of Christian Morals.

which closed the gambling-houses in France. At the present time, it is assiduously pursuing the emancipation of slaves, the abolition of capital punishments, the suppression of torture in prisons, and the admission into our laws of every measure calculated to serve the interests of morality amongst the masses, temperance in individuals, and religious education amongst the people. It is the only society in France which has unceasingly given open expression to its horror of war; the only one which opposes itself, without reserve or hesitation, as well against duelling and revolts, as against conquests; and, fully maintaining its independence, it unites itself to its ancient President, to whom diplomatic trusts are at present confided, in order that it may maintain, in conjunction with him, the policy of moderation and peace.

Permitted to take a part in this congress of peace, I think I cannot better evince my gratitude than by bringing before you official and authentic documents relative to the state of the question in my own country. It is a tribute which I feel to be due to this assembly, who kindly permit me to address them in my own language, as if this were already a bond of our sympathies to associate the languages in the same manner as we are here blending the generous sentiments of the two nations.

"It is with the same design that I am happy to cite the two illustrious names of Elizabeth and Henry IV, who were the first to unite in this great project of permanent peace, founded upon the alliance between the two crowns of England and France. It is pleasant to me to recall these things, when I see these two nations together preserving political and religious liberty; together maintaining peace between themselves, and also strengthening it among all the powers of Europe, for the happiness of mankind. It is certain, gentlemen, that public opinion in France has acknowledged the advantage which accrues from a general agreement or union among the nations; the public mind is attached to this system of peace which is necessary to the prosperity of states; and I am happy to have to state here this day the benefits which it has conferred on my country.

"I will present to you especially some details concerning our moral situation. War does not only call out to the army the sons of the nobility, it produces also trouble, pain, and affliction among citizens, and further leads to distraction, disorder, and agitation among the masses. Have we not seen, in the year 1840, on the first announcement of a war which was yet distant, the population turning from their usual occupations; commerce and industry brought to an unsteady and timid stand; and crowds of idlers in our towns exciting day by day increased disorder; the songs of war re-echoed in the theatres; the people crying, every evening, 'To arms, citizens!' and the peaceable portion of the people deprived of all security? At the same time the government prepared to undertake and maintain a general war. It raised an army of 900,000 men; it appealed to the recollections of 'The Empire;' it brought back in pomp the body of the warrior who had decimated France and laid waste Europe; it covered the capital with fortresses, delighted to give rise on all sides to thoughts of war; invoking, without any motive, the national honor, and proclaiming a speedy occurrence of conflicts, battles, and conquests. Alas, gentlemen, how unfortunate for my country was this year 1840!

As to the moral influence, no sooner was war announced than the agitation which resulted from it, produced an increase of every crime. The proofs of this assertion, will doubtless excite your interest. Observe, then, in 1839 there were in France only 5,621 accusations brought before the courts of assize. In 1840 they increased to 6,004; but in 1841, a pacific minister having re-established quiet, and restored security to the country, they fell to 5,528. There were, also, in 1839, 7,858 persons charged with crime; in 1840 there were 8,226; whilst in 1841 there were only 7,462. The fact was similar as to those convicted of crime. In 1839 they amounted to 5,063, and increased in 1840 to 5,476; whilst they were reduced to 5,016 in 1841; and if the calculations are made with reference to greater crimes only, we find that in 1839 there were 1,949 persons condemned to death, hard labor, or solitary confinement; but in 1840 the number was 2,324; whilst in 1841 there were only 2,033. It is, then, proved that in France, from the very moment of the announcement of war, crime increased *seven per cent.*, and as soon as peace was again confirmed, it diminished *eight per cent.*, and even *twelve per cent.*, on aggravated offences.

"Yes, gentlemen, the maintenance of peace both internal and external, has always been marked by the same proofs of its happy influence. The useful institution of savings' banks exhibits always vicissitudes corresponding to the changes in the public safety. In the year 1831, in the midst of bloody revolts, the savings' bank in Paris had for the first time received a less sum in deposits than it had paid out; whilst in the peaceful year 1835, the deposits to the fund increased in Paris to 14,000,000. During the first months of the year 1840, the savings' bank continued to show a similar progress as from the year 1831; but as soon as the minister, on the 1st of March, intimated the danger of war, the deposits diminished, and the repayments increased so much that in the month of September, in the midst of warlike preparations, and reports of provocation to hostilities, we received only 1,700,000 francs, and repaid 4,000,000. In the month of October we still received only 1,700,000 francs, and repaid more than 6,000,000; but after a pacific policy had continued for two months, in January, 1841, the deposits exceeded 4,400,000 francs, and the repayments were reduced to 1,900,000,

francs. You see, then, that public security is founded upon the system of order, moderation, and peace.

"It has been the same also in public funds. In 1831, in the midst of those bloody revolts which insulted religion and public morals, the stock, which was at 108 some months before, fell to 74; and we have seen the same deplorable effect on public credit in 1840; but as soon as a pacific minister came into power, they soon rose to 117 francs, and have increased as the securities for peace have become stronger, until at this moment they have reached the enormous elevation of 122 francs.

"What losses do we not always experience by the occurrences of war, in the management of public affairs. It was in the year 1840 that the budget of France was for the first time deficient; and we have not yet been able to re-establish the equilibrium between our expenses and our receipts. Mean while the army, raised in 1840 to 900,000 men, has been reduced first to 360,000 and afterwards to 320,000; and it is now proposed to effect a further reduction of 14,000 men, and a saving of 15,000,000 francs in expenditure. If war had been declared in 1840, we should not have been able to undertake any of those successive improvements with which our administration is occupied. The construction of railways to intersect France, had not even been commenced; and, in order that we might appear before Europe strong and powerful, we should have lost all the means which peace gives us of becoming truly and in all respects strong and powerful.

"It is unfortunately true that we never profit sufficiently by the benefits of peace. We do not fully avail ourselves of the facilities which it offers for promoting the prosperity of nations. We do not even practise the necessary economy; and the military establishment which was increased on the rumor of war, is never reduced again to its former standard. Of this, France affords painful proof. In 1816 its budget was loaded with debts contracted by the continuance of war for fifteen years, and yet it was only 900,000,000 francs. To-day, after twenty years of peace, it amounts to 1,500,000,000 francs. In 1816 the minister of war was charged with 64,500,000 to pay off the disbanded armies of 'The Empire,' and yet his whole budget showed only 180,000,000, and was not really more than 116,000,000; but now, after twenty-eight years of peace the budget of this minister exceeds 330,000,000. Lastly, in 1816, when we had scarcely entered on a state of peace, and were constantly afraid of the renewal of war, the army was reduced to 200,000 men without any fatal result; but now, after twenty-eight years of peace with all the powers of Europe, we cannot obtain its reduction to 300,000.

"Yet, gentlemen, by endeavoring to retain the generous voice of the friends of humanity, we shall succeed in dissipating all prejudices. At every period, the question of peace has inspired in France the most worthy and illustrious of our writers. Our grand minister, the Duke de Sully, who had organized war, proposed also to organize peace. He seems even to have anticipated our actual situation, when he said that the kings of France could not be more profitably employed than in using their power to preserve the peace of Europe. This project was developed by the Abbé St. Pierre, and discussed by Rousseau, from whom I may quote one passage: 'Annibal,' said he, 'wrote to the senate of Carthage; I have conquered the Romans,—send me troops; I have put Italy under contribution,—send me money.' And Voltaire, with his usual sarcasm, says, 'I have seen Spain and England expend 100,000,000 in making war for 95,000,000 of livres, as entered in the account; I have seen nations reciprocally destroying the commerce for which they fought.' Assuredly nothing shows better the folly and disastrous nature of war."

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#### ESTIMATE OF THE PEACE CONVENTION.

All the leading daily papers of London had their reporters present during its sessions, to report its proceedings, as they do those of Parliament; and from the London Times, probably the ablest, most influential, and most widely circulated paper in the world, we copy an editorial article, to show in what light the Convention was regarded on the spot by intelligent men not specially interested in the object.

#### THE PEACE CONVENTION.

This body has just terminated its sittings at Exeter Hall. It is impossible that men can band together in a more righteous cause than that which is the soul and life-blood of the Convention; and it is a cheering circumstance, that the society already embraces Frenchmen and Americans, delegates from their own country, to attest the wickedness and abomination of war, and to advocate a general principle of arbitration among nations, in lieu of the bayonet and rocket. The *ultima ratio regum* is to be superseded by the judicial interference of neighbor states. We are to shed ink, and not blood,—we are to use referees, and to discard sixty-eight pounders. A resolution has already been passed by the Convention, condemnatory of the practice of educating youth in the arts of war, and disapproving of the manufacture of its implements. Our arsenals,